in terms of the three questions just noted above. While 565
in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, 557
defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant 565
struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for 584
their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This
mobility, which has a moderate degree of realization, does
not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for
example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would
never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found
among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same 565
things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling 572
at an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of
a company may visit each other and in other ways express
their friendship, but an executive does not normally seek
out intimates among his workmen or pay visits to their
homes, just as in Rowanduz friends are to be found among
those of comparable status. This is clearly indicated by
jesting. A man can always have a joke at the expense of [522]
an inferior, but never the reverse. "Anwar, you do business
like a child," a merchant said to one below him at a
gathering in a chaykhana, evoking general laughter. The
person in question could only shake his head, laughing at
himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to
taunt in return nearer his own status. On the other hand, 565
as has been seen, servants, particularly those from the 367
village where almost all belong to the same social stratum,
think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

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Rowanduz, as a minor administrative and mercantile center, stands almost midway between the agricultural village and the great city. Its populace is divided into three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages, that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society were stabilized. There was little motive or means for the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and, in particular, the institution of schools which makes [557] entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement. It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society of the town is disjointed, for the townsmen continue to [186] regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have been quick to realize that the new system offers an opportunity for social advancement and are eager for their [557] children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople have been absorbed into the second system, although the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

movement as it evolved in the Medieval Islamic world, a development which corresponds to the rise of monasticism in the Christian states of Europe. Men were attracted to it for a variety of motives, some great in wealth or learning who dabbled in its esoteric lore, others sincerely devoted to the service of their faith and mankind, clever charlatans who lived off the bounty of the gullible, mystics, revolutionaries, and a host of others. In short, it offered many things to many persons. There are two darwish disciplines in Kurdish Iraq, the Qadiriya order (founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani who died in 1166 and whose tomb in Baghdad is the foremost Sunnite shrine in Iraq) and the Naqshbandiya order (originally begun in Central Asia in the fourteenth century). To illustrate the contrasting types of darwish, it might first be noted that the chief mulla of Rowanduz, 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, is a member of the Naqshbandiya order. Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in the judgment of the townspeople and the government elite, is an intelligent, realistic person whose interest seems to be purely intellectual. On the other hand, the most extravagant egotist in the lower ranks of the townspeople, Hajji Mustafa the barber, is a member of the Qadiriya order, and the reader will be able to appreciate something of his motives below.

In a district like that of Rowanduz, men can ascend in society only by dint of considerable personal ability along certain lines. It has been noticed how youths,

impatient with normal routine and anxious of prestige, attach themselves to the chieftains as gholam or body-guards. It follows, in addition, that among the commoners there are a number of men whose attainments have brought them little as far as wealth and social standing are concerned. With such dissatisfied persons are others, the usual aberrant members of any community whose eccentricities have been adjudged harmless to others. Such as these are absorbed into the darwish movement, because, on the one hand, it offers social status of an extraordinary sort and, on the other, a channelled expression for personal peculiarities which might otherwise prove dangerous. It would be unwise to typify a darwish of the lower classes without first having dealt with the individual in question, for he might prove to be a hard-working craftsman in one case and a person mentally deficient in another. To become a darwish is almost identical to joining an American fraternity or lodge. One is initiated into its "secrets" by the elder members, and becomes a party to its exclusiveness. Like the lodge member, the darwish believes himself to be set apart from the mass of men by virtue of the superior knowledge with which he has been invested. The secret of almost all darwish orders is the same, although differently phrased, a personal relationship to God which bypasses the usual conventions of the faith. This relationship, when translated into the combination of song and dance, can produce that form

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